

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 178261

63

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL MELBOURNE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

SHAPE IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

USEUCOM IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 178261

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR CY

SUBJECT: DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING - CYPRUS

FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF PRESS BRIEFING BY AMBASSADOR

MCCLOSKEY ON CYPRUS SITUATION AT NOON, AUGUST 14:

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 178261

QUOTE: MR. MCCLOSKEY: I HAD PLANNED TO DO SOME OF THIS
ON THE RECORD. I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL ALSO, EVEN
IF I HAVE TO RESORT TO BACKGROUND TO GO FURTHER. AND
I'LL DO MY BEST TO MEET ALL CONSIDERATIONS.

LET ME BEGIN WITH A GENERAL STATEMENT ON THE RECORD.

THE UNITED STATES HAD HOPED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE IN A PEACEFUL MANNER AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WITHOUT A RETURN TO VIOLENCE. TO THAT END, THIS GOVERNMENT HAS PLAYED AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND SECRETARY KISSINGER REMAINED IN DIRECT COMMUNICATION THROUGHOUT YESTERDAY AND LAST EVENING WITH THE PARTIES IN AN EFFORT TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS INTACT.

NOW, AS WE SAID YESTERDAY, IN ANTICIPATION OF A POSSIBLE RENEWAL OF THE FIGHTING WE CONSIDER A RESORT TO MILITARY ACTION UNJUSTIFIED. WE DEPLORE THE TURKISH RESORT TO THE USE OF FORCE.

NOW, THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE. THE UNITED STATES IS CONVINCED THAT ONLY THROUGH A RETURN TO NEGOTIATIONS CAN AN ARRANGEMENT BE ESTABLISHED WHICH WILL SERVE TO RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT TO CYPRUS AND PEACE AND STABILITY THROUGHOUT THE AREA, AND WE WILL CONTINUE IN MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO BRING THIS TO A REALITY.

NOW, LET ME TELL YOU A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THE ACTIVITY -- PARTICULARLY THIS MORNING, SOME OF IT LAST NIGHT -- IN WASHINGTON.

WHEN THE SECRETARY FIRST RECEIVED WORD THAT FIGHTING HAD BROKEN OUT, HE CONTACTED THE PRESIDENT AND KEPT THE PRESIDENT INFORMED. THEN MR. SISCO RETURNED TO THE DEPARTMENT AND STAYED HERE THROUGHOUT THE NIGHT.

Q: WHAT TIME DID HE FIRST HEAR ABOUT IT?
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 178261

A: FIGHTING BROKE OUT SOMETIME SHORTLY BEFORE MIDNIGHT. BUT THE SECRETARY FIRST CONTACTED THE PRESIDENT FROM A DINNER HE WAS ATTENDING AT THE EGYPTIAN EMBASSY SOMETIME EARLIER, WHEN THE FIRST MESSAGES WE HAD INDICATED THAT, INDEED, MILITARY ACTION BY TURKEY WAS LIKELY.

I SAID MR. SISCO RETURNED TO THE DEPARTMENT, STAYED OVERNIGHT, HAD ONE MEETING DURING THE NIGHT WITH THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR. THAT WAS AT 4 A.M. HE OTHERWISE KEPT HIMSELF ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS -- BOTH THOSE THAT WERE BEING COMPILED BY THE TASK FORCE IN THE OPERATIONS CENTER AND, AT THE SAME TIME, REVIEWING INSTRUCTIONS FOR AMBASSADOR SCALI AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

AS YOU KNOW, THERE THEY MET AT 3:30 -- PASSED THE RESOLUTION. AND I AM FRANK TO TELL YOU I DON'T KNOW HOW LONG WAS SPENT, BUT IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY PASSED. IT IS NOW REFERRED TO AS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 357.

THE SECRETARY THEN THIS MORNING MET WITH A GROUP FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN HIS WHITE HOUSE OFFICE, PRELIMINARY TO SEEING THE PRESIDENT AT 9:00 A.M. I THINK YOU WILL FIND ALSO THAT MR. TERHORST WILL, IF HE HASN'T ALREADY DONE SO, NOTE THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD A CONVERSATION THIS MORNING WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN. NOW, THIS GROWS OUT OF A CALL THAT THE SECRETARY PLACED TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER FROM HIS OFFICE AND DIDN'T GET

HIM ON THE PHONE STRAIGHTAWAY. THE CALL CAME THROUGH WHEN THE SECRETARY WAS WITH THE PRESIDENT; THE PRESIDENT SPOKE TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY.

AND I'D LIKE YOU, ALSO, TO CHECK FURTHER AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS AFTERNOON. THERE WAS SOME POSSIBILITY, AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, THAT THE PRESIDENT MAY TALK TO THE PRIME MINISTER IN LONDON LATER TODAY.

Q: WHO WAS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT GROUP THAT MET WITH THE SECRETARY?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 178261

A: INGERSOLL, SISCO, STABLER, EAGLEBURGER, MYSELF, AND THEN GENERAL SCOWCROFT WAS SITTING IN.

THERE WILL BE A WSAG MEETING AT 3 THIS AFTERNOON.

Q: WILL THAT BE THE FIRST SUCH MEETING OF THIS CRISIS?

A: YES, THE SHORT ANSWER AND THE ACCURATE ANSWER IS "YES". I ONLY HESITATED BECAUSE THERE WAS A WSAG MEETING SEVERAL DAYS AGO, JUST AFTER PRESIDENT FORD ASSUMED OFFICE; BUT IT WAS NOT DIRECTED AT A NEW CYPRUS DEVELOPMENT.

Q: ARE YOU STILL ON THE RECORD?

A: MAYBE I'D BETTER DO THIS ON BACKGROUND, SINCE WE CAN'T KNOW EVERYTHING THAT'S GOING ON ON THE GROUND OR HAS GONE ON IN CYPRUS SINCE LAST NIGHT. HOWEVER, THERE WAS SOME BOMBING AND SOME STRAFING IN CYPRUS -- SOME OF IT NEAR, AND POSSIBLY WITHIN NICOSIA.

THERE WAS ALSO SIMILAR ACTIVITY AROUND THE AIRPORT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF NICOSIA -- PLANES THAT HAD COME OVER FROM THE MAINLAND OF TURKEY. WITH SOME RESERVATION, I

THINK I CAN SAY THE FIGHTING SEEMS TO HAVE SUBSIDED, BUT I DON'T WANT TO MAKE A JUDGMENT THAT THAT WILL REMAIN THE CASE.

Q: COULD YOU GIVE US SOMETHING, A STATEMENT, ON THE RECORD, CONCERNING THE GREEK WITHDRAWAL FROM NATO AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THAT FOR AMERICAN POLICY?

A: NATURALLY WE WOULD REGRET A WITHDRAWAL BY GREECE. I MUST SAY IT IS NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR TO US WHAT GREECE'S INTENTION IS. WE HAVE SEEN THEIR ANNOUNCEMENT AND,

FRANKLY, KNOW NOTHING MORE ABOUT IT THAN THAT. SO I'D RESERVE ANY FULL JUDGMENT AS OF NOW.

Q: WE'VE NOT HAD CONTACT WITH THEM?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 178261

A: THAT CAN BE ON THE RECORD .

I DON'T KNOW THAT THERE'S BEEN ANY -- WELL, THERE'S BEEN REPORTING BY OUR EMBASSY FROM ATHENS, YES. THERE ARE MESSAGES BEING PREPARED NOW THAT ARE GOING TO THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALS -- ATHENS AND ANKARA.

AND NOW LET ME IF I MAY GO ON BACKGROUND AND TREAT A LITTLE BIT OF THE MATERIAL THAT FIRST WE THOUGHT WE'D HAVE A BACKGROUND SESSION ABOUT.

I THINK IT FAIR TO SAY THAT THIS CRISIS NOW HAS ITS ANTECEDENTS MOST RECENTLY IN AN IMPASSE THAT BEGAN TO DEVELOP IN GENEVA IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE WEEKEND. ON SATURDAY, THE SECRETARY, AFTER WE HAD LEARNED THAT TURKEY MIGHT BE ANTICIPATING FURTHER MILITARY ACTION, WAS IN TOUCH DIRECTLY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THERE AND EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN AND RECEIVED WORD AT THAT TIME THAT THEY WERE NOT UNDERTAKING ANYTHING THEN AND THERE. AND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH THE SECRETARY.

THEN, IN THE MEANWHILE, FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY'S TELEPHONE CALL, HE SENT A TELEGRAM -- WHICH, AGAIN, OFFICIALLY, EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN OVER ANY POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTION.

NOW, THE IMPASSE THAT DEVELOPED GREW OUT OF DIFFERENCES OVER HOW ONE WOULD DEFINE AN AUTONOMOUS AREA FOR TURKEY.

Q: FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS?

A: FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS ON CYPRUS.

THERE WERE DIFFERENT APPROACHES BEING SUGGESTED; THERE WAS DIFFERENT TERMINOLOGY BEING DISCUSSED. AND HERE I'M NOW TALKING NOT ONLY ABOUT THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY BUT THE UNITED STATES, TURKEY, GREECE, AND THE CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES WHO WERE PRESENT AT GENEVA.

COMMUNICATION -- AND, PARTICULARLY BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 178261

ANKARA -- CONTINUED THROUGH SUNDAY, LESS A MATTER OF

TELEPHONE CALLS THAN AN EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS IN WHICH OUR AMBASSADOR WAS CARRYING OUT INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE SECRETARY. EVERYTHING BEING DESIGNED TO, HOPEFULLY, PREVENT ANOTHER OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING.

PROPOSALS AND COUNTER-PROPOSALS WERE EXCHANGED. THERE APPEARED TO BE SOME HOPE BY MONDAY THAT ALL PARTIES WOULD EXERT FLEXIBILITY; AND THERE WAS A COMPLEX AND COMPLICATED SERIES OF COMMUNICATIONS THAT WERE INVOLVING

THE CAPITALS AND THE RESPECTIVE REPRESENTATIVES IN GENEVA, INCLUDING MR. HARTMAN REPRESENTING THE UNITED STATES.

THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD, THE SECRETARY HAD A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN, AND THERE WAS -- WELL, LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY: WHILE THE UNITED STATES WAS BOTH URGING RESTRAINT AND MAKING SUGGESTIONS, AT NO POINT DID THE UNITED STATES INTRODUCE A HARD AND FAST PROPOSAL IN WHICH WE WERE ASKING OF THE PARTIES THAT THEY ACCEPT A UNITED STATES PROPOSAL.

IN ANY CASE, THERE WAS SOME HOPE THAT THE PARTIES WOULD CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATION. AND THAT WENT ON THROUGH YESTERDAY -- NOT ENTIRELY YESTERDAY; UNTIL, AT LEAST, EARLY YESTERDAY -- AND BY LATE AFTERNOON IT BEGAN TO APPEAR THAT TURKISH DEMANDS WERE NOT GOING TO BE MET BY THE OTHER PARTIES.

THE SECRETARY APPEALED FOR A DELAY BEFORE ULTIMATE DECISIONS WERE MADE.

Q: HOW DID HE DO THAT?

A: BOTH IN TELEGRAMS AND IN TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS.

Q: TO THE PRIME MINISTER?

A: TO THE PRIME MINISTER.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 178261

NOW THAT IN A SUMMARY FORM, BRINGS US UP TO LAST EVENING,
THE PERIOD I HAVE ALREADY ATTEMPTED TO COVER.

Q: ON THAT PERIOD, AS YOU DESCRIBED IT, THE DIFFERENCES
WERE OVER DEFINITION OR THE PRINCIPLES OF A DEFINITION
FOR AN AUTONOMOUS ZONE FOR TURKEY.

A: NOW THAT WAS ONE AREA OF DIFFERENCE. THERE
WAS AN IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE ALSO OVER THE EXTENT OF THE

AREAS, WHATEVER THEY WERE GOING TO BE DESCRIBED AS.

Q: FINE, BUT WHAT I HAD IN MIND -- IT IS CLEAR THEN,
THAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WAS WILLING TO ACCEPT SOME SORT
OF AUTONOMOUS ZONE FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS? THERE
HAVE BEEN ALL SORTS OF ACCOUNTS, YOU KNOW.

A: CONTINUING ON BACKGROUND: YES, THE NOTION THAT
TURKEY HAD A LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN AND REQUIREMENT FOR
AN AUTONOMOUS AREA (FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS) WAS ACKNOW-
LEDGED BY THE PARTIES.

INDEED, WE, OURSELVES, SAID THAT HERE YESTERDAY, BUT
THERE WAS ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY THE OTHER PARTIES.

THERE WAS DISPUTE AND DIFFERENCE OVER HOW IT SHOULD BE
DRAWN, TO WHAT EXTENT OF TERRITORY IT WOULD COVER AND
HOW IT WOULD BE DESCRIBED.

Q: WILL AMERICAN WEAPONS CONTINUE TO GO TO TURKEY AND
GREECE?

A: WELL, ON THE QUESTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE LET ME
SAY THIS ON THE RECORD THAT OUR CONCENTRATION .
PRESENTLY, IS DIRECTED AT IMPLEMENTING A CEASEFIRE AS
CALLED FOR AGAIN BY THE UNITED NATIONS EARLIER THIS
MORNING.

I WOULD ADD THAT IF TWO NATO ALLIES WERE TO RESORT TO
WAR, IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT THEY COULD NOT COUNT ON A
CONTINUING LINE OF MILITARY SUPPLY FROM THE UNITED STATES.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 178261

Q: BUT IN THE MEANTIME, DOES THAT LINE CONTINUE?

A: THAT'S ALL I INTEND TO SAY ABOUT THE QUESTION OF
MILITARY ASSISTANCE -- A DESCRIPTION OF EXACTLY WHERE
WE ARE AND WHAT OUR ATTITUDE IS ABOUT IT.

Q: APPARENTLY YOU DON'T CONSIDER GREECE AND TURKEY ARE ALREADY FIGHTING.

A: THE FIGHTING HAS BEEN CONFINED TO CYPRUS.

Q: IN THESE VARIOUS COMMUNICATIONS TO TURKEY AND GREECE, HAS THIS BEEN MADE AGAIN CLEAR TO THEM IN THE CURRENT CRISIS?

A: I DON'T KNOW THAT I CAN LITERALLY ANSWER THAT, BUT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT THEY HAVE BEEN AWARE OF -- BOTH AS A RESULT OF PRIVATE COMMUNICATIONS RECENTLY, AND IN ADDITION, TO A PUBLIC STATEMENT MADE BY THE SECRETARY IN CALIFORNIA TWO WEEKS AGO, I BELIEVE.

Q: COULD YOU DISCUSS AT ALL, WHAT KIND OF LEVERAGE THE UNITED STATES HAS AT THE MOMENT, BEYOND WITHDRAWING SUPPLIES AFTER, SAY A WEEK'S FIGHTING HAS ALREADY TAKEN PLACE? I MEAN, IS THERE ANYTHING BEYOND TELEGRAMS SAYING, "DON'T FIGHT."

I MEAN, IN FACT, WHAT PRESSURE CAN YOU EXERT?

A: WELL, I DON'T WANT TO OUTLINE ANY SPECIFIC COURSES OF DIPLOMATIC ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES HERE AND NOW. WE HAVE NOT YET DECIDED ON WHAT THE UNITED STATES MAY MOST USEFULLY DO.

THAT IS BEING CONSIDERED, AND WAS THE SUBJECT OF CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY AND OUR GROUP THIS MORNING.

AND LET ME PUT THIS ON BACKGROUND: I THINK I CAN SAFELY ASSUME, IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDENT THIS MORNING. NOW WHEN WE HAVE MADE A DECISION ABOUT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 178261

WHAT IT IS THE UNITED STATES MAY USEFULLY DO, WE WILL LET IT BE KNOWN.

Q: CAN YOU SAY WHAT THE OPTIONS ARE: AS THEY ARE?

A: WELL, THE PROBLEM WITH THAT IS -- THEN WE GET A LOT OF EDITORIAL ADVICE ABOUT WHAT WE SHOULD HAVE DONE.

Q: IS THERE A FEELING THAT THIS ACTION HAS COME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF THE TRANSITION OF POWER IN THE UNITED STATES, AND IT MIGHT NOT HAVE OCCURRED OTHERWISE?

A: I SEE ABSOLUTELY NO EVIDENCE OF THAT.

Q: YOU SAID IN THE STATEMENT THAT IT IS CLEAR, WOULD BE CLEAR THAT IF TWO NATO ALLIES WERE TO RESORT TO WAR --

WELL, WE HAVE THE CASE NOW WHERE ONE OF THEM AT LEAST MAY NOT BE A NATO ALLY ANYMORE. HOW WOULD THAT AFFECT THIS STATEMENT?

A: WELL, YOU ARE CERTAINLY AHEAD OF ME, AND I DON'T KNOW BUT WHAT YOU MAY BE AHEAD OF THE FACTS.

Q: I AM TALKING ABOUT THE REPORT THAT GREECE HAS PULLED OUT OF NATO.

A: I HAVE SAID HERE THAT I CANNOT CONFIRM THAT AND I'M FRANK TO TELL YOU THAT AS I LOOKED AT THEIR STATEMENT, THAT IS NOT CLEAR.

SO I HAVE NOT MADE A JUDGMENT, NOR HAS ANYONE IN WASHINGTON, THAT GREECE IS NO LONGER A MEMBER OF NATO. THE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION YOU POSED, I AM NOT GOING TO ATTEMPT TO ANSWER.

Q: WELL IT'S NOT SO HYPOTHETICAL -- I'M ASKING IF TWO NATO ALLIES WERE TO RESORT TO WAR.

A" THAT WAS AN "IF" ANSWER.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 178261

Q: WITH THAT GOING AS A HYPOTHESIS, WHY CAN'T WE GO AHEAD WITH A REAL POSSIBILITY?

A: WELL LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY, THEN: I AM BETTER ADVISED NOT TO ATTEMPT TO ANSWER THE HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION YOU POSED -- AND IF YOU PREFER NOT TO USE MY HYPOTHETICAL ANSWER TO THIS LAST QUESTION, FEEL FREE TO DO IT.

Q: DO YOU FEEL THAT THE UNITED STATES MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE JUMPING THE GUN BY THE TURKS, OR JUMPING THE GUN BY NOT TAKING A FIRMER POSITION AGAINST THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE?

A: LET ME TELL YOU I CAN'T IN ANY CONCEIVABLE CIRCUMSTANCE DRAW THAT CONCLUSION, NOT IN ANY WAY.

Q: COULD YOU TELL US WHAT HAS BEEN THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION SO FAR, AND HOW DO WE VISUALIZE INVOLVING THE SOVIET UNION IN HELPING RESTORE STABILITY IN CYPRUS?

A: WELL I DON'T KNOW THAT I CAN IN ANYWAY SPEAK CONFIDENTLY TO THE SOVIET ROLE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. I DON'T KNOW OF ANYTHING IN PARTICULAR THAT THE SOVIETS

HAVE DONE OR SAID, EXCEPT THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE EARLY THIS MORNING.

WHETHER WE HAVE CONTACT, OR WILL HAVE CONTACT WITH THE SOVIETS ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION, I LEAVE OPEN; BECAUSE I THINK THAT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE.

Q: WE WERE TOLD THE PRESIDENT MET WITH AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN THIS MORNING. WAS THAT RELATED TO CYPRUS?

A: I DON'T BELIEVE SO, AND THAT'S WHY I ANSWERED THE WAY I JUST DID.

DOBRYNIN WAS TO SEE THE PRESIDENT, I BELIEVE AT 11:00 AND THE SECRETARY WAS THERE FOR IT. THAT WAS NOT THE PURPOSE OF THE CALL. IT WAS MUCH MORE RELATED TO HIS UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 178261

JUST HAVING RETURNED FROM MOSCOW -- AND MY UNDERSTANDING THAT HE WAS CARRYING A MESSAGE FROM THE PARTY CHAIRMAN FOR THE PRESIDENT.

NOW I DON'T RULE OUT, YOU SEE, THAT THIS PRESENT CYPRUS SITUATION MIGHT BECOME A TOPIC OF CONVERSATION IN THAT MEETING. BUT WE HAVE NOT ENGAGED OURSELVES WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN ANY WAY PRESENTLY, OR AS A RESULT OF WHAT'S HAPPENING IN CYPRUS.

Q: ON THE FACE OF IT, THE GREEK ANNOUNCEMENT APPEARED TO MANY AROUND THE WORLD TO BE AN EXACT PARALLEL TO WHAT FRANCE DID --

A: I KNOW IT'S READING THAT WAY --

Q: -- IN 1954 --

AND GREEK OFFICIALS ARE BEING QUOTED NOW, ON THE TICKERS AS SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL HAVE TO WITHDRAW FROM GREECE ALL TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, CLOSE DOWN THE NATO MISSILE RANGE ON GREECE, AND LOSE FACILITIES FOR THE SIXTH FLEET.

THERE WAS A MEETING OF NATO, OF THE NATO COUNCIL, AT WHICH THE GREEK STATEMENT WAS RECEIVED.

IS THE NATO COUNCIL AND THE UNITED STATES TAKING THE POSITION THAT THEY ARE NOT ACCEPTING THE GREEK STATEMENT?

A: NO, I'M A FEW INCHES SHORT OF THAT.

I'M SAYING THAT WE HAVE NOT, OURSELVES, FORMED A JUDGMENT ON WHAT THE FULL EXTENT OF GREECE'S INTENTIONS ARE, AS A

RESULT OF THIS STATEMENT. AND I DON'T WANT TO JUMP AHEAD OF THE SITUATION WITH PRONOUNCEMENTS HERE AND NOW.

Q: ON THE CRISIS -- THE SECRETARY USED TO GO TO THE AREA OF TENSION -- DOES THE SECRETARY PLAN TO GO TO THOSE AREAS?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 178261

A: HE HAS NO PLANS FOR THAT.

Q: WHAT IS THE MILITARY PROGRESS NOW?

NOW YOU STARTED OUT BY DESCRIBING THE SITUATION AND THEN YOU SAID THAT YOU THOUGHT THE FIGHTING HAD DIED DOWN.

COULD YOU GO ANY FURTHER AS TO WHAT YOU THINK THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS ATTACK WERE THIS MORNING ON CYPRUS AND WHETHER THE -- WHAT THE PROSPECTS ARE FOR?

A: I CAN SAY TO YOU STRAIGHT FORWARD, THAT WE HAVE SOME PRELIMINARY JUDGMENTS ABOUT WHAT THEIR MILITARY INTENTIONS ARE. BUT I THINK IT WOULD BE IMPRUDENT OF ME TO OFFER THEM PUBLICLY HERE AND NOW.

FIRST OF ALL, WE MAY NOT BE RIGHT.

AND SECONDLY, IF WE ARE, IN OUR JUDGMENT THEY MAY NOT BE CARRIED OUT.

SO I WOULD MUCH PREFER NOT TO SAY ANYTHING ON THAT.

Q: IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY THAT SECRETARY SISCO WOULD GO BACK TO HIS MISSION.

A: WELL, GOING BACK TO HELLA'S QUESTION, THERE ARE DIFFERENT THINGS THAT ARE POSSIBLE. WE HAVE NOT DECIDED ON A COURSE OF ACTION. AND IF YOU WILL GIVE ME A LITTLE TIME, MAYBE I WILL BE ABLE TO TELL YOU SOMETIME NOT TOO FAR OFF.

Q: HAS THERE BEEN ANY CONTACT BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT AND CARAMANLIS?

A: THERE ARE COMMUNICATIONS GOING TO BOTH ANKARA AND ATHENS. THEY ARE BEING DRAFTED AND THEY MAY HAVE ALREADY GONE.

Q: HAVE THERE BEEN ANY TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN --

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13 STATE 178261

A: NO, THE ONLY TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS -- THIS MORNING THAT THE SECRETARY INITIATED HIMSELF WAS WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY IN LONDON.

Q: ARE THE MESSAGES THAT ARE BEING DRAFTED PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES OR MESSAGES FROM THE SECRETARY?

A: THEY ARE FROM THE SECRETARY.

Q: HAVE THE TURKS EXPLAINED TO THE SECRETARY WHY THEY FEEL OBLIGED TO RESORT TO FORCE?

WHEN HE CALLS AND SAYS, "PLEASE DON'T GO TO WAR." WHAT DO THEY ANSWER?

A: I'LL LET THEM SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES, WITH ALL RESPECT.

THE PRIME MINISTER HAD HAD A PRESS CONFERENCE THIS MORNING.

Q: BUT HAVE THEY GIVEN YOU AN EXPLANATION OF --

A: THEY HAVE GIVEN US THEIR POINT OF VIEW.

Q: WHEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT WENT ON RECORD YESTERDAY, AS

FAVORING A GREATER DEGREE OF AUTONOMY FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS WAS THAT PART OF A POSSIBLE PLAN THAT COLLAPSED LATER IN THE DAY?

IN OTHER WORDS, WAS IT PART OF A PROPOSAL? WAS IT AN OFFERING THAT THE UNITED STATES MADE TO THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IN CONSORT WITH SOME OTHER THINGS THAT ARE NOT KNOWN TO US THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS BUT WHICH LATER IN THE DAY COLLAPSED?

A: THAT'S A LITTLE TOO ABRUPT. I'VE SAID THAT WE OURSELVES AND THE OTHER PARTIES HAD ACKNOWLEDGED TO TURKEY THAT IT HAD A LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING AN AUTONOMOUS AREA FOR ITSELF -- WHATEVER IT WAS CALLED: AREA, ZONE, CANTON -- ON CYPRUS. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 14 STATE 178261

WE SAID THAT PUBLICLY INDEED YESTERDAY. BUT THERE WAS A RECOGNITION, NOT ONLY BY THE UNITED STATES BUT BY THE OTHER PARTIES. THE DIFFERENCES WERE OVER WHERE IT WOULD BE DRAWN, WHAT SIZE IT WOULD BE, AND WHAT IT WOULD BE CALLED.

NOW, WHAT WE SAID YESTERDAY -- WELL, THE TWO PARTS, THE

BOTH PARTS OF WHAT WE SAID YESTERDAY, REGRETTING ANY MILITARY ACTION -- CLEARLY WAS AN ANTICIPATION THAT WE WERE CONCERNED THAT THE TALKS MAY BREAK DOWN -- IF THAT ANSWERS YOUR QUESTION.

Q: WELL, THAT ANSWERS THE QUESTION. AND THE OTHER HALF WOULD BE, WAS THE PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES THAT IT FAVORED A GREATER DEGREE OF AUTONOMY, WAS THAT ANOTHER EFFORT TO HEAD OFF THE FIGHTING? WAS THERE AN ASSUMPTION AT NOON YESTERDAY THAT MAKING THIS STATEMENT PUBLICLY AT THAT TIME WOULD HEAD OFF --

A: WELL, LET ME ANSWER THAT ON BACKGROUND. THE SHORT ANSWER IS YES. WE WERE CONCERNED THAT THE MILITARY ACTION MAY BE INVOKED AGAIN. WE DIDN'T WANT THAT TO HAPPEN. WE WERE CONCERNED THAT THE TALKS MAY BREAK DOWN. WE CAREFULLY DREW THE PUBLIC STATEMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THOSE CONSIDERATIONS.

NOW LET ME GO BACK ON THE RECORD. I'VE ALREADY SAID THAT TURKEY HAS LEGITIMATE CONCERNS AND INTERESTS REGARDING ITS COMMUNITY IN CYPRUS. WE'RE SYMPATHETIC AND UNDERSTANDING OF THESE CONCERNS. AT THE SAME TIME, GREECE AND CYPRUS ALSO HAVE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN CYPRUS.

AND, LASTLY, LET ME ADD JUST ONE POINT, THAT IT IS OUR VIEW THAT ONE PARTY CANNOT IGNORE THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE OTHER. AND IT'S IN THAT SPIRIT THAT WE HOPED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONTINUE AND SUCCEED.

Q: I GATHER FROM WHAT YOU DIDN'T SAY THAT A REVIVAL OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IS NOT A REALISTIC POSSIBILITY.

A: I KNOW I DIDN'T SAY THAT, AND I WOULD REGRET IF I LEFT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 15 STATE 178261

THE IMPRESSION THAT THAT'S OUT OF THE QUESTION. WE'RE NOT RULING OUT ANY POSSIBLE DIPLOMATIC FORUM OR ENDEAVOR AT THIS POINT.

Q: IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED VARIOUSLY THAT WE'RE TILTING TO GREECE OR WE'RE TILTING TO TURKEY, ALSO THAT WE'RE ACTING LARGELY OUT OF CONSIDERATION OF OUR BASES SITUATION IN GREECE. FOR THE RECORD, CAN YOU ADDRESS YOURSELF TO THOSE SORT OF COMPLAINTS AND SUGGESTIONS?

A: I THINK IT'S PLAIN BALONEY THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TILTING TOWARD ANY ONE PARTY OR THE OTHER IN THIS DISPUTE. WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE STABILITY OF THE AREA. WE HAVE ALWAYS KNOWN THAT AN OUTBREAK ON CYPRUS INVOLVING TWO NATO ALLIES RAN THE RISK OF DESTABILIZING THE ENTIRE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. WE HAVE NO INTEREST IN TILTING

ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. WE HAVE A SUPREME INTEREST IN AVOIDING AN OUTBREAK OF FIGHTING ON THE ISLAND AND, FURTHERMORE, AN OUTBREAK OF WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY.

Q: I THINK WE'RE STILL TRYING TO GET SOME INDICATION OF THE TONE OF THE CONVERSATIONS THE GREEK AND TURKISH LEADERS HAVE HAD WITH THE SECRETARY. AND; WITHOUT BEING INDISCREET, CAN YOU AT LEAST GIVE US SOME INDICATION OF WHETHER THERE IS ANY INEVITABILITY ABOUT BELLIGERENCY OR WHETHER THERE'S A HOPEFUL SIGN IN THEIR ATTITUDE? TELL US, WHAT ARE THEY COMMUNICATING TO US IN GENERAL?

A: WELL, AT THE RISK OF SOUNDING POMPOUS, I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT THE PARTIES STILL THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BE ABLE TO EXERT SOME INFLUENCE FOR AN IMPROVEMENT OF THE SITUATION. WE HAVE NOT LOST CONTACT WITH ANY OF THE PARTIES, AND I SEE NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD.

Q: DO YOU SEE ANY PROSPECT OF ANY KIND OF MILITARY ACTION OR MOVEMENT BY THE REST OF NATO. I MEAN WHAT IS, IN FACT,

BEING DISCUSSED IN BRUSSELS TODAY? ARE THERE ANY PROPOSALS FOR SENDING, ALLOTING ANY NAVIES IN THE AREA, ANYTHING OF THAT SORT?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 16 STATE 178261

A: NOTHING OF THAT SORT, NO.

Q: I MEAN WOULD IT NOT HAVE BEEN PHYSICALLY POSSIBLE TO STOP THE TURKS FROM SENDING IN MORE TROOPS IN THE LAST TWO DAYS, AND, INDEED, INITIALLY BEFORE IT EVER HAPPENED?

A: PHYSICALLY POSSIBLE TO, IF I UNDERSTAND YOU, INVOKE NATO?

Q: WELL, INVOKE NATO OR INVOKE THE U.S. SIXTH FLEET, WHATEVER YOU WANT TO INVOKE.

A: WELL, IN SITUATIONS LIKE THIS IT'S ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO ENLARGE THE CONFLICT BY A BAD CHOICE OF ACTION WHILE THE MAIN EMPHASIS IS ON TRYING TO CONFINE IT, WHICH WAS WHERE OUR PRINCIPAL INTEREST WAS. TO MY KNOWLEDGE, AT NO TIME WAS THERE ANY CONSIDERATION GIVEN TO INVOKING NATO IN ANY MILITARY WAY.

Q: COULD YOU REVIEW FOR US JUST SOME OF THE TONE OF WHAT THE SECRETARY WAS TELLING THE TURKS? BECAUSE THERE IS AN IMPRESSION, BOTH BEFORE THE TURKS SENT THEIR FORCES INTO CYPRUS, I THINK, ON JULY 20 AND IN THE CURRENT PHASE, THAT OUR MESSAGES TO THE TURKS WERE JUST PRO FORMA -- "WE'RE CONCERNED, AND PLEASE DON'T ROCK THE BOAT."

A: THEY WERE A LOT MORE THAN THAT. AND THAT WOULD BE A GROSS OVERSIMPLIFICATION OF THE EFFORT THE UNITED STATES WAS MAKING AND A MISREPRESENTATION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE COMMUNICATIONS.

Q: WOULD YOU PUT THAT ANOTHER WAY, FOR EXAMPLE, AND GO BACK TO YOUR "PLAIN BALONEY?" WHY WAS IT THAT DURING THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS WHEN THERE WERE REPORTS OF REPEATED TURKISH VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE THE UNITED STATES DID NOT SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY AGAINST THOSE VIOLATIONS? AND WHY IS IT, PICKING UP ONE OF YOUR COMMENTS EARLIER, THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD WAIT, IF I UNDERSTOOD YOUR STATEMENT RIGHT, FOR AN ACTUAL OUTBREAK OF WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY BEFORE CUTTING OFF THE FLOW OF ARMS?

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 17 STATE 178261

Q: WELL, I DON'T INTEND TO SAY ANYTHING MORE ABOUT THE SECOND PART OF YOUR QUESTION. I'VE SAID EVERYTHING I'M GOING TO SAY ON THE QUESTION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

ON THE FIRST POINT, THERE CAN ALWAYS BE A LEGITIMATE CRITICISM THAT WE DIDN'T SAY ENOUGH PUBLICLY ABOUT WHAT WE WERE DOING PRIVATELY. BUT THAT'S A CHOICE WE MADE IN THE BELIEF THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO BE MAKING PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS IF IT WAS DOING WHAT IT FELT WAS RIGHT PRIVATELY. AND THAT WAS WHERE THE CHOICE WAS MADE. I CAN'T RATIONALIZE IT ANY FURTHER.

Q: CAN YOU SUMMARIZE FOR US HOW SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS KEPT PRESIDENT FORD ADVISED OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE HIS TELEPHONE CALL LAST NIGHT FROM THE DINNER? I'M GOING BACK TO LAST SATURDAY. HOW MUCH WAS PRESIDENT FORD TOLD, AND IN WHAT WAY?

A: WELL, I DON'T, YOU KNOW, HAVE AN ANATOMY OF ALL THAT IN FRONT OF ME. BUT I DO KNOW THAT ONE OF THE FIRST TOPICS THAT THE SECRETARY TOOK UP WITH THE PRESIDENT IN HIS FIRST BRIEFING OF HIM WAS CYPRUS.

Q: AND WHEN WAS THAT BRIEFING?

A: WELL, IT WAS THE MORNING AFTER THE PRESIDENT WAS SWORN IN.

IT WAS SATURDAY MORNING. AND I KNOW THE SECRETARY WAS AT THE WHITE HOUSE AGAIN ON SUNDAY AND SAW HIM BRIEFLY. AND IT HAS BEEN A TOP ITEM ON EACH MORNING'S BRIEFING AGENDA FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Q: DO YOU KNOW WHETHER ANY ADDITIONAL TELEPHONE CALLS

WERE MADE TO KEEP HIM INFORMED AS THINGS DEVELOPED ALONG THE WAY?

A: I HONESTLY DON'T KNOW MORE THAN I HAVE ALREADY TOLD YOU. MAYBE JERRY TER HORST WOULD KNOW MORE.

Q: ANY PLANS FOR EVACUATION OF AMERICANS FROM ATHENS OR UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 18 STATE 178261

ANKARA OR ISTANBUL?

A: NO AUTHORIZATION HAS BEEN REQUESTED AND NONE HAS BEEN GIVEN.

IN CYPRUS, U.S. GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES NUMBER 38; THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 600 AMERICAN CITIZENS AS RESIDENTS. NOW, SOME OF THESE WILL BE DUAL NATIONALS. THERE ARE APPARENTLY FEW, IF ANY, TOURISTS. AND NO REPORTS OF INJURIES OR DAMAGE TO EITHER AMERICAN CITIZENS OR PROPERTY IN THIS PHASE. THE AIRPORT IS PRESENTLY CLOSED. NOW -- WAIT A MINUTE -- LET ME GO BACK BECAUSE I REMEMBER A TELEGRAM THAT CAME IN LAST NIGHT, AND THERE ARE TWO AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO WERE BEING TAKEN TO ONE OF THE BRITISH BASES LAST NIGHT, I THINK AT THEIR OWN REQUEST. BUT THERE IS NOT GOVERNMENTAL DECISION YET TO EVACUATE AMERICANS.

Q: THE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN SEVERAL TIMES IN RECENT WEEKS HERE HAS STATED AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR THE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS OF 1960. FIRST OF ALL, THIS PHRASE WAS DROPPED YESTERDAY. AND SECONDLY, OF COURSE, THE QUESTION OF AUTONOMY WAS BROUGHT UP. ISN'T THIS IN VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS OF 1960?

A: I WOULD MUCH HESITATE TO STAND HERE AS A LAWYER ON THAT CONSTITUTION AND WHAT SPECIFICALLY WOULD BE THE LIMITS OF GUARANTORS RIGHTS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. NO JUDGMENT FROM ME ON THAT.

Q: COULD I ASK ONE OTHER QUESTION STILL? HOW LONG CAN GREECE AND TURKEY FIGHT WITHOUT FURTHER SUPPLIES? WHAT ARE THEY LIKELY TO RUN OUT OF FIRST? AND, LASTLY, WHAT VIEWS DO YOU HAVE ON ONE PROPOSAL WHICH HAS BEEN BANDIED AROUND THAT BRITISH FORCES ON CYPRUS SHOULD BE USED AS A KIND OF BUFFER, OR ANYWAY TO TRY AND STOP THE TURKS FROM ADVANCING? THREE QUESTIONS.

A: THE FIRST QUESTION AGAIN, HELLA, WITH ALL RESPECT I BACK OFF AGAIN WHERE YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE. UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 19 STATE 178261

Q: NO. HOW LONG CAN THEY FIGHT ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING
SUPPLY?

A: THAT I CAN'T HONESTLY MAKE A JUDGMENT ON.

ON THE USE OF BRITISH FORCES AND EQUIPMENT ON THE ISLAND,
THAT'S A MATTER FOR THE BRITISH TO SPEAK TO, AND WITHIN
THEIR ROLE AS A GUARANTOR POWER.

Q: BUT WHAT ADVICE IS MR. CALLAGHAN GETTING IN ALL THESE
TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS?

Q: HAS THAT BEEN RAISED WITH THE BRITISH?

A: THE SUBJECT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED, PERIOD. UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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